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The British Election

THE OVERWHELMING VICTORY of the Labor Party in Great Britain is the most important event since the defeat of Germany; it will be many months before its full consequences can be assessed. It is not too soon to say, however, that its moral effect throughout the world will be tremendous, and emphatically on the right side of the ledger for the forces of democracy.

The size of the victory leaves no doubt that the British people wanted the Labor Party to take power, and this evidently includes a large proportion of the middle class as well as the workers. In Great Britain, as in the United States, the victory in the national legislature is larger than in the popular vote; Labor's majority in the House is on a scale of more than two to one, while its popular majority was four to three—12 million to 9 million.

The Labor Party campaigned chiefly on domestic issues, and offered a program for nationalization of basic industries—coal, steel, transportation and banking. Did it therefore receive a firm mandate to proceed in due course with these actions? On the whole, the answer is yes. Nobody knows, of course, just why the people voted as they did. No doubt war weariness had something to do with the result; the regime in power during any great military struggle suffers from an accumulation of many grievances. Both Tories and Labor promised housing, jobs and social security, and it is reasonable to suppose that many people voted for Labor on the basis of the simple argument that it would do better than the Tories in making good these promises. Mr. Churchill conducted a singularly bad campaign, with his "gestapo" speech and his attack on Harold Laski, which doubtless did his cause harm. Yet discount the result as much as you like for these reasons, and you still have the overwhelming fact that a stunning majority of the British people voted for a program so radical that, beside it, a Roosevelt New Deal seems mild indeed.

The election result was no repudiation of Churchill, the war leader. For his dogged courage in Britain's darkest hours the country owes him a debt of gratitude that will not soon be forgotten. As Raymond Swing remarked, there are several Churchills. The one who was defeated was the Tory leader who was able to offer no bold and glowing picture of the future to the British electorate, but left them, as they went to the ballot boxes, with uneasy, vivid memories of life on the dole and of crippled war veterans who, for years after 1918, begged on the London street corners—just as American ex-soldiers were among the apple sellers after 1929.

It would be folly to deny the size of the problems by which the Labor Government is confronted, particularly since it proposes drastic alterations of policy which will need new blood in the administrative offices, and plenty of it. The party has a grievous shortage of first-class men; as Atlee's first appointments show, it must rely heavily on the same leaders who have been serving with Churchill in the coalition cabinet and who condoned some of his actions which the electorate has

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now repudiated, men who have become habituated to a snail's pace in social reform. They will of course proceed immediately to improve the system of social security as much as possible; but they know as well as anyone else that social security at its best means only a pittance for the unemployed and the aged; it is no substitute for a high and permanent prosperity which enables the workers to look out for themselves. The Labor Government will now proceed to introduce planning on a vast scale, presumably beginning with a compensatory economy somewhat similar to the Woolton plan.

In its domestic program, the Labor Party will have an extraordinarily difficult task. Great Britain comes out of the war bled white by the effort which, it must be remembered, has lasted twenty-seven months longer than our own. Her investments abroad, on which she once depended so heavily to pay for her imports of food, have been cashed in to meet the cost of war materials. She needs a marked rise in exports in order to continue to bring in enough food to keep her population going; and at the moment, it is hard to predict where she can find the markets for these exports. This is especially true in view of the competition with the United States, whose potential productivity in peacetime may be gauged by the fact that in war materials we are now out-producing the rest of the world combined. Such exports are likely to mean continued shortages of consumer goods for the British householder, which in turn will raise a serious political question. However, at the worst, Labor will do as well as the Tories in grappling with these difficulties, and probably much better. It will be less tender of vested interest, and of industries whose machines and habits of thought are both obsolescent.

It is in the field of foreign affairs that the moral impact of Labor's great victory is strongest. A thrill of hope will run through the world as political and economic conservatism in the Big Three nations is suddenly reduced from a majority of two to a minority of one—the United States. Relations with Russia should certainly be bettered; the Russians were well aware of the bitter hostility toward them which Churchill and many other members of his group had expressed openly before the war. Where the Tories might come to agreements with the Russians containing no stipulations about the treatment of the people of Eastern Europe, the Attlee government will certainly press for an extension of democracy in Finland, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and other places. Russia's fear that she might in the future find herself the victim of a hostile Anglo-American combination should be substantially modified.

Perhaps the most valuable immediate result of Churchill's overthrow has to do with Greece. Although the Labor members of the coalition cabinet did not feel free to break with the Tories over the Greek situation, it is obvious that they did not like it. Churchill's attempt to jam the repudiated King George down the throats of the Greeks has brought that country to the brink of civil war. This plotting has already come to an end. The Greek people are today closer to self-determination.

The same thing will be true in other countries as well. To be sure, in the past, British Labor governments (which did not have a clear majority) have done discouragingly little to eradicate the bad spots in British foreign and colonial policy. It has become fashionable to say that the permanent staff of civil servants in the government offices manages to make its own policy no matter who is in Downing Street. But the situation has changed since the last Labor Government. Attlee is a better man than Ramsay MacDonald ever was, less histrionic, more inclined to work as a member of a group; in some ways the parallels between the new Prime Minister and President Truman are striking. At the very least, we can expect some definite gains. As Harold Laski has indicated, Britain will certainly withdraw her support of Franco in Spain, and whether he can then survive will depend chiefly on the attitude of the United States. In Italy, Churchill's tender solicitude for the House of Savoy should be succeeded by a more realistic attitude. Throughout western Europe, British intriguing with ultra-conservative elements will be stopped, and the forces of the Left correspondingly encouraged. Among the first fruits of the change may be the strengthening of the Left and all the resistance elements in the forthcoming French elections.

As for India, while it would be a mistake to expect too much too soon, the change in London undoubtedly brightens the Indian skies. The sticking point in India at present is the intransigence of the Moslem League. The Attlee government will be far more inclined than was Mr. Churchill to coöperate with the Indian National Congress to put pressure on Mr. Jinnah—pressure which is justified by the wholly arbitrary and unreasonable character of his demand that no Moslem be permitted to occupy an important place in India without his, Jinnah's, consent. Already, Sir Stafford Cripps has urged that democratic elections be held.

As for the United States, Labor's success in Britain should demonstrate to American progressives how far we still have to go, and how late in the day we are making our start. Beyond that, unless the Truman administration drifts dangerously to the Right, relations between the two countries should now be better, not worse. The hard core of anti-American feeling in London has been a group of Tory bankers and industrialists who resented American competition and wanted government aid in circumventing it—just as a similar group, similarly motivated, has existed on our side of the water. The Attlee government will keep the London group in check, instead of encouraging it as Mr. Churchill has done.

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Those Americans who cannot tell peaceful evolution from violent revolution, and who, these past few days, have seen visions of Britain "going bolshevik" can relax. Britain is not going bolshevik; it is not going to do anything in a precipitous hurry which it will later have to regret. The British are about to embark on a vast experiment, that of trying to make capitalism work in combination with a modest degree of state socialism. Far from having succumbed to communism, they have sensibly recognized its appeal to those for whom capitalism has meant only repeated depression and repeated war, and are preparing to try a serious alternative. It is of the profoundest importance to the rest of the world, and most of all to ourselves, that this experiment should be given a fair trial, and that it should succeed.

The Charter Is Ratified

The significance of the Senate's ratification of the United Nations Charter should not be minimized merely because everyone knew in advance what the result of the vote would be. Although at least three-quarters of the American people favored entering the old League of Nations in 1919-20, and this country was kept out primarily because of President Wilson's constitutional inability to compromise, there was a long period in the twenties and thirties when America was in fact isolationist in its mood. That mood has now changed, as we have come to realize how small the world has grown, how much our fate is bound up with that of other nations, and particularly how impossible it is for us to be happy and prosperous when misery and poverty are the general lot in other parts of the globe.

Ratification of the Charter is of course not the end of anything, but only the beginning. The faults and weaknesses of the San Francisco document are painfully apparent; as soon as it has been ratified by a majority of the signers, and has become operative, we must begin in deadly earnest the long, slow process of making it a more effective instrument for peace and democracy. We must fight, among other hostile forces, our own isolationists who at the moment are bowing before the storm, but who will presently reassert themselves and will try to weaken the world organization by sabotaging American participation. We have gained no more than the top of the first foothill; now we can see how arduous is the remainder of the climb which still remains to the mountain's height.

Our Wage Policy

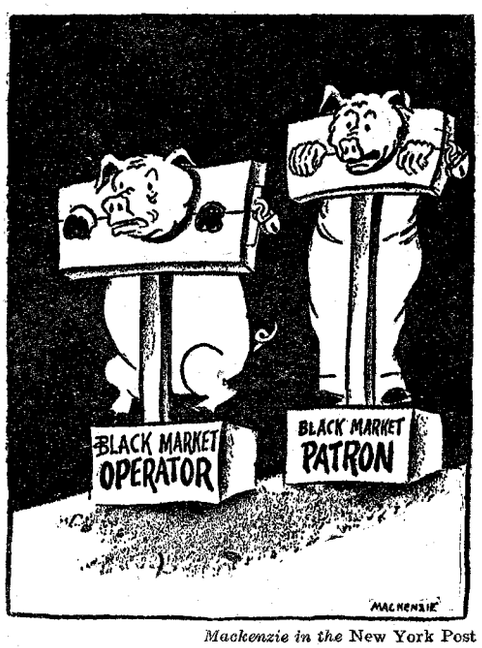
There is much evidence that important changes will soon be made in national wage policy. Public members of the War Labor Board have privately informed Economic Stabilizer Davis that the time has come to modify present regulations preventing wage increases. They favor automatic approval of any voluntary wage agreement not requiring price increases as a result. The labor members of the WLB urge, in addition, amendment of the Little Steel formula to permit a 30-percent increase over the prevailing straight-time hourly rates as of January, 1941.

Some determination on these proposals is expected from Mr. Davis when he returns from a brief vacation. Meanwhile, the Advisory Board of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion has moved a step farther toward the goal of a guaranteed-annual-wage plan by establishing a joint industry-agriculture-labor committee to report on the practicality of such a system. Arthur S. Meyer, a New York businessman, and Murray Latimer, a veteran New Dealer and member of the Railway Retirement Board, will direct the study which the Advisory Board will later make use of in order to promote the voluntary spread of the annual-wage plan.

Manpower, Coal and Transport

Secretary of Interior Ickes and Transportation Director J. Monroe Johnson are both standing up to the Army on its manpower policies. Secretary Ickes states that we must send six million tons of coal to Europe before the end of this year unless those countries are to lose "nearly all semblance of law and order" this winter. To deliver that amount of coal, Ickes says, at least 30,000 of the 130,000 U. S. miners in the armed forces will have to be released now to dig it.

The Senate War Investigating Committee, questioning Transportation Director Johnson and various War Department officials on the transportation jam, has been flatly told by the ODT that unless the railroads get 75,000 more workers immediately, deployment of our forces to the Pacific cannot be completed on schedule. "I think Colonel Johnson is unduly



Mackenzie in the New York Post

Public Enemies No. 1 and 2

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alarmed," General John Franklin answered. To which Committee Chairman Mead replied, "It will be a warming thought to know, if there is a serious coal shortage, that the Army thinks such a shortage was unnecessary."

Army inflexibility in refusing to grant discharges to meet industrial needs is already threatening at least these two phases of our economy.

Mr. Truman Should Say No

Friends of President Truman have assumed that the time would soon come when he would have to crack down on those both in and around the Administration who are showing a disposition to play fast and loose with ethical considerations. An incident which might easily precipitate such action is the revival of the plan to use American dollars to aid the most important telephone company in Mexico City to buy out its "competitor"—a plan emphatically vetoed by President Roosevelt and Attorney General Biddle as one likely to saddle on the Mexicans high rates due to stock watering. President Truman should find it difficult to sanction the dropping of Secretary Wallace from the board of the Export and Import Bank in view of his strongly expressed opposition to the deal. A firm position now on this relatively unimportant matter might save the President trouble later when the more sinister plans of the old crowd are ready for launching.

State Laws on Minimun Wages

One state legislature after another has adjourned without doing anything to insure the maintenance of postwar consumer purchasing power or to check the possibility of a viciou downward trend in our wage structure. After the passage of the federal Fair Labor Standards Act the general impression prevailed that "interstate commerce" had been interpreted so broadly that practically all workers are now covered by federal labor standards. Actually, not more than half of the employed of America came under the operation of the Act in 1944, or about 21,485,000 out of an estimated 45,200,000. Bureau of Labor Statistics figures shows that in 1943—a boom year—the majority of workers in the intra-state occupations were receiving substandard wages of from nine to forty cents an hour. There seems to be no immediate possibility that through constitutional interpretation these people can be brought under federal coverage. Improved state minimum-wage legislation is a necessary and practical approach. Twenty-two states are still without minimum-wage laws of any kind. The dozens of constructive bills introduced in state legislatures, with pitifully few exceptions, have been defeated. On the other hand some laws aimed at sabotaging federal labor standards have been passed. The method is to put labor contracts in a class apart from other contractual obligations and to reduce the time during which a worker may sue to collect legally due wages.

New Antics by the Communists

The American Communists seem determined to make themselves as thoroughly and publicly ridiculous as possible. Their previous party line which snuggled up to "free enterprise" was of course absurd; and that it would be dropped sooner or later was inevitable. The change came, however, to the accompaniment of public posturings so foolish that if any of the comrades are left who have the faintest sense of humor, they must be blushing all over. The Commies pretended that the logical arguments in an article in a French radical magazine caused them to see the light; on the contrary, it is obvious that they interpreted this article as being orders from Moscow, which it probably was not; Moscow seems to have given up the American Communists some time ago as a mess of hopeless incompetents. Thereupon, the faithful tried to make Earl Browder their scapegoat, on the assumption that the misguided party line was all his fault. But in fact, practically all the CP leaders were equally to blame. Mr. Browder has not been a good party chairman, but he was about as good as any of the men and women who are now denouncing him; and it is small compensation for him to reflect that in Russia itself, in the old days, a man in his present position would probably have been exiled for a long period, or shot. It is on the side of realism that the party be reconstituted; but it remains true that this country is still without what it badly needs; organized, sustained, drastic criticism by an intransigent, uncompromising and able Left.

Washington Help Wanted

President Truman will find another series of appointments awaiting his decision when he returns from Potsdam. He must find a new Federal Loan Administrator to replace John Snyder whom he promoted to be "Assistant President" and Director of Reconversion. Secretary of Interior Ickes is making no secret of the fact that his cabinet chair will soon be vacant. And there are numerous judicial positions which urgently need filling.

It is reported that Emil Schramm, president of the New York Stock Exchange, was offered and has rejected the post of Loan Administrator; Schramm is far from the kind of man needed to direct the flow of national credit in the direction of full employment. Clifford Durr, former Defense Plants Director, is still our idea of a good appointee there. The President will have to look sharp in naming a successor to Mr. Ickes or he may be picking one of the many Ed Pauley men-in-camouflage planted around him. The Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia is temporarily out of commission because of three vacancies. Since this

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court reviews the major administrative questions of national government and thereby actually controls the fate of most social legislation, appointments to it are of great importance. Attorney General Clark is said to have prepared a slate of prospects headed by Judge Proctor of a lower District of Columbia court and E. Barrett Prettyman, attorney for the local traction company. The President will surely want much stronger men than these for such strategic positions.

The Civil Liberties Union Reports

Annually the American Civil Liberties Union renders an important public service by publishing a balance sheet of civil rights in the preceding year.[1]. It is to the credit of American democracy that throughout the war years these reports could give a generally favorable picture of the state of civil liberties. This is particularly true of those traditional items—freedom of speech, person, assembly and religious worship—which have been our most precious possession in a world characterized by a trend toward authoritarianism and oppression. But modern times bring new problems, and it is not surprising that these should be reflected in the report. They include such topics as monopolistic practices in the field of communications, racial discrimination in employment, rights in industrial conflicts, control over education, and international guarantees of free communication and of the rights of colonial peoples. The first of these becomes steadily more serious; movie producers own and control theatres, and there is a tendency for one man or a group of men to possess a number of newspapers or radio stations or both. Important victories for civil liberties have already been won in the Supreme Court and local courts, and a number of federal agencies have shown an increased understanding of the need to extend the concept of civil rights to fields not previously touched. But negative court decisions and federal and state actions, especially in matters of racial discrimination and labor rights, warrant the continued vigilance of our people, who only too often take their civil liberties for granted.

Get Them off the Trains

The United States is now embarking upon the most ambitious project in its history. A great part of all the troops who have been fighting in Europe are to be sent to the Asiatic theatre across the United States. We were already gravely short of railroad manpower and equipment, and the new demands bring our shortage to catastrophic proportions. Under these circumstances, the Office of Defense Transportation is renewing its appeal to the public not to travel if it can be avoided. It has also limited advance Pullman reservations to five days, and has withdrawn all Pullman cars making runs of less than 450 miles. One hopes these measures will have the desired effect, but it is hard not to be pessimistic about them. Anyone who uses the railroads on necessary business can see for himself that every long-distance train contains scores of passengers who are traveling solely for pleasure. They admit it readily if asked; some of them profess never to have heard of the ODT. It is obvious that actual rationing of travel would be an enormously complex and difficult job, requiring many thousands of workers who cannot be spared from other tasks. We see no reason, however, why every traveler, when he buys his ticket, should not be handed a small form, to be filled out at his leisure with his name and address and handed to the conductor on board the train. This card might read, "I hereby solemnly swear that this railroad journey is a necessary one," or words to that effect. Such a plan would take very little of anybody's time, would not use up an unreasonable amount of paper and would certainly greatly reduce the number of thoughtless people who now occupy space on the trains simply because their right to do so has been challenged by nobody.

Military Review

Admiral Halsey's fleet has now been lying off the shores of Japan for something like a month, alternating carrier strikes with bombardments of the shore, and even throwing in one torpedo raid at the mouth of Tokyo harbor. This has caused so much concern in Japan that for the first time her leaders have publicly admitted that they might be willing to make peace short of the hundred years' war to a victorious conclusion which has always previously been their minimum requirement. The reason is clearly that they fear that invasion would destroy the very foundations of the imperial dogma on which their power rests.

It may come to an invasion yet this summer. Many of the most successful military movements have an element of impromptu, like the invasion of the Philippines, which was the result of an overnight decision after an earlier series of Halsey raids showed the enemy strength there was far less than had been anticipated. General Bradley has said that when we do attack Japan it will be with our full strength of seven million men or more, a massive movement. This is probably the method that promises the best overall results; a large force, thrown onto the beaches in a group, might catch the defenders well dispersed among cantonment areas and force upon them a campaign of maneuver, while an army only big enough to set up a solid beachhead would allow the Japanese time to hole up in positions organized around caves and ruined towns.

At present, with the redeployment, and what is more important, the retraining of the armies from Europe, only begun, it does not appear that the troop forces in the western Pacific are adequate for more than a beach-

[1] The latest report, *Liberty on the Home Front in the Fourth Year of War*, can be obtained from the American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

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head operation and a subsequent break-out campaign from it, somewhat along the lines of Italy and Normandy. Shipping would also presumably offer something of a bottleneck. With so very much of the available reserve still employed in the Atlantic, it is hard to see how a campaign of massive proportions could be supported at the other side of an ocean where the steaming distances are three times as great, and where we have the services of no such forward base as that provided by the British Isles.

The commander of Pacific land forces, however, is not Bradley but MacArthur, and the latter may well feel that the moral shock and confusion resulting from Halsey's operations is such that even a comparatively weak invasion force can achieve great results. It has been observed in the past that the Japanese are, in a military sense, always at their best when allowed to think things out, always at their worst when faced by an operation for which there is no precedent.

The Halsey attacks admirably meet the latter definition. In the days of sail, British fleets did lie off Brest and Toulon for months on end, but passively; the supply ships had to bring them nothing but food, and they did not dump thousands of tons of ammunition on the enemy each morning. Indeed, the efficiency of the service of supply is not the least of the factors that has enabled the Third Fleet to write entirely new definitions of what seapower is and what it can accomplish. No prewar thinker on the subject considered it even remotely possible that a fleet could maintain itself at such a distance from its own bases for four weeks. During the naval conferences of the twenties the Japanese were willing to accept a three to five ratio of numerical inferiority in warships as representing security, on the basis that neither of the larger fleets could match them in the waters of the western Pacific.

No doubt as to this proposition was expressed. It may still be accurate, for the fleet which Halsey took to the shores of Honshu had a superiority over its opponents far greater than five to three. (The attacks threw into relief the fact that the Japanese Navy, which on the morning of December 8, 1941, stood at least second among the world's fleets, has been virtually wiped out.) But at least the attacks and their results call for a reëxamination of the whole question. Although Halsey has hung off the Japanese coast for weeks, it was technically possible for him to have crippled the Japanese fleet during the first day, as the British crippled an Italian squadron at Taranto. At the time of that operation, it was pointed out that the success of the whole thing depended upon the carrier *Illustrious* being able to make an unobserved night run to within striking distance for her planes—that is, upon not too distant Mediterranean objectives. Now it appears that distance is not necessarily a factor, and there is no security even in its home harbors for an inferior fleet opposed by carrier striking forces.

Japan Rejects

ONE IS TEMPTED to conclude that the rulers of Japan, in failing to accept unconditional surrender, are acting like a kamikaze pilot, caring nothing about self-destruction as long as the utmost possible damage may be inflicted on the enemy. It is a foregone conclusion that continuation of resistance means their country will be laid waste, and the only purpose they can accomplish in choosing this course is further damage to the attackers.

This does not imply that the declaration has failed. It was not the kind of offer which is open for a few hours or days only. The terms announced were severe enough so that they are not likely to be made stiffer in the future. Loss of the empire, punishment of war criminals, destruction of munitions industries and guarantees of democracy would mean the equivalent of obliteration to those who now control Japan's policy. Why should they accept these terms now rather than later? Obviously they would prefer to wait and see if the invasion succeeds, or if we do not weaken before paying the whole cost of subduing resistance. They can surrender at any time in the future, if they become convinced that there is no possible escape.

No more lenient terms ought, we believe, to have been declared. To gain surrender now at the cost of losing the peace would have been to sacrifice all the effort so far made. But there is a chance that forces in Japan who care more about their country and its people than about the military and industrial rulers will find hope in the declaration. They are not likely to be able to seize power before our victory; nevertheless they may begin to see, and to influence others to see, that the quicker our victory is, the better for them. The hopelessness of resistance, combined with assurance of a chance in the future, may exert a corroding influence, invisible on the hard surface of the Japanese will to fight, but honeycombing its substance.

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Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG

Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE

Assistant Editors: HEINZ EULAU, ELIZABETH HULING, GEORGE MAYBERRY, HELEN FULLER (Washington)

Contributing Editors: H. N. BRAILSFORD, MALCOLM COWLEY, JULIAN HUXLEY, ALFRED KAZIN, MAX LERNER, E. C. LINDEMAN, THOMAS SANCTON, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

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Britain's New Prime Minister

THE AMAZING LABOR victory in Great Britain—a victory far more sweeping than most leaders of the Labor Party themselves expected—has brought to the fore a man hardly known to Americans. Major Clement Attlee has no warm personality, no rhetorical ability, none of the colorful tricks that trademark politicians the world over. He even shies from publicity; it is often said that he prefers Limehouse to limelight. He came from the "ruling class." Why, then, should he be Prime Minister in Britain's new Labor Government?

Born in 1883, of wealthy middle-class parents, he was at prep school when Keir Hardie, the first Labor MP, "member for the unemployed," jostled into the House of Commons in his working clothes. He was a Tory at Oxford while the Labor Party was struggling into existence.

But after graduating in Political Science he went to work in a settlement in the East End of London. Most university graduates who went "slumming" returned to the cosy counting houses of the City or well established lawyers' offices in Westminster. Yet there were a few like Attlee, Sir William Beveridge and Dr. Temple, the "Red" Archbishop, whose social consciences were strengthened by the verminous tenements, the stunted children and the huddled sweatshops of Stepney and Limehouse. Men like these made social reform their lifelong career.

Attlee, while manager of a boys' club, realized that poverty could not be banished by charitable upper-class social workers. He realized that to remove the evils which blighted the lives of England's poor, society must be transformed. Joining the Fabian Society and the Independent Labor Party, he began to speak at street-corner meetings, off Limehouse's Commercial Road and by the London docks. At first the beer-drinking dockers and slum-dwellers laughed at this earnest young man with the Oxford accent, sailors passing through Limehouse's Chinatown jeered at the cranky youth on the soapbox. Yet Attlee stuck to the job, became a familiar local figure and began to convince the slumland toughies, as he has since convinced political leaders, by his sincerity, his persistence and the logic of his arguments for socialism. Thus began an association with Limehouse which is responsible for Attlee's rise to power. For a time he helped Sidney and Beatrice Webb run their epic lobby for unemployment and health insurance; in 1912 he was appointed lecturer in sociology at the London School of Economics and Political Science; but he always returned to Limehouse.

The only break was in World War I. Unlike pacifist George Lansbury, Labor colleague in the adjoining borough of Poplar, Attlee immediately volunteered for the army. Gallipoli, Mesopotamia, France. Wounded. But as soon as Major Attlee was invalided out of the army in January, 1919, he went back to Limehouse.

By this time the Labor Party was becoming a real force in British politics, and political prophets already saw it eclipsing the Liberal Party. In Limehouse and Stepney, Attlee was no longer alone. Together with his fellow party members he fought the Tories at the municipal elections of 1919. In Stepney they had a remarkable victory. A majority of seats was won, and, in recognition of his prewar service, the Major was made Mayor of Stepney Borough Council.

At the 1922 General Election the successful local Mayor was the obvious choice as Labor candidate for Limehouse. He defeated the sitting Liberal. Ever since then Limehouse has been one of Labor's impregnable constituencies. In the 1924 Labor government Attlee served as Undersecretary for War, and spent most of the two years after 1927 in India and Burma as a member of the Indian Statutory Commission. In the 1929-31 Labor government he was at first Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and later Postmaster General. In a short time he was able to reorganize Britain's largest public utility, and he introduced high-pressure Post Office advertising.

Then came Attlee's great chance. If Labor had not suffered a disastrous defeat at the 1931 elections, when MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas deserted to the Tories, Attlee would probably have remained just another obscure Labor minister. As it was, practically all the Labor ministers except Lansbury and Attlee were defeated by the National candidates who claimed that Labor had brought the country to financial ruin and would, if returned, "nationalize" the people's savings. Only the safest of safe Labor seats held firm. So when the new Parliamentary Labor Party met, Lansbury was elected leader and Attlee deputy leader.

Faced by Japanese aggression in China, by Italian aggression in Ethiopia, and by the menacing rise of Hitler's Germany, the Labor Party, which had always stood for international disarmament as well as collective security, decided in 1935 that it must renounce pacifism. Pacifist Lansbury therefore felt obliged to resign the leadership just before the 1935 election. Deputy leader Attlee was selected to fill his place for the period of the election.

The election results showed that Labor's comeback had begun; instead of 59 there were 150 Labor MP's in the new Parliament, and many Labor ex-ministers were again returned. Mr. Attlee was challenged by Herbert Morrison and Arthur Greenwood, but the

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Parliamentary Labor Party again elected Attlee.

As Labor leader in peace, Attlee enhanced his reputation by attacks on the Baldwin-Chamberlain foreign policy; the first British battalion of the International Brigade in Spain was called the Major Attlee Battalion. As Labor leader in war, and as Deputy Prime Minister to Churchill, Mr. Attlee's name began to be more widely known than ever before. Behind the shining Churchill façade, Mr. Attlee has done a solid war job whose details the burrowing official war historians will eventually uncover in full.

But his detractors are still many. He is too cautious, say some. His ascent is only due to historical accident and he has none of the qualities of a national leader, say others. He has not the massive personality and drive of Herbert Morrison or Ernest Bevin, the other two ex-Labor members of the war cabinet: how then, cry the critics, can he lead a Labor government through the treacherous shoals of the transition to socialism?

Many attempts have been made to unseat Limehouse's choice; Harold Laski, Labor chairman, is certainly not one of his admirers. Herbert Morrison, who is seven years younger, will probably one day succeed Attlee, and is said to be impatient at the delay. But so far all attempts have failed. This is partly, no doubt, because the Labor Party is conservative about changing its leaders, and partly because it is recognized that a strong man who can win elections is not necessarily the best man to coördinate higher strategy in the battles of peace. But the main reason Attlee retains his place is because there is widespread appreciation of his qualities: intelligence of a very high order, a range of political experience possessed by few other MP's, honesty and integrity rare in politicians, thoughtfulness for which many Labor MP's have come to be thankful. And Attlee's dignified conduct of Labor's election campaign strengthened his hold on the party. Perhaps he will wear down the opposition as he once won the respect of the toughies of Limehouse.

London MICHAEL YOUNG

The Full-Employment Bill

IT IS UNNECESSARY to convince most people that it would be desirable to avoid depression, to make sure that at all times there will be as many jobs as there are men and women who want to work for wages and salaries, and to produce as many of the necessities and amenities of life as can be turned out with the existing labor force. There are, however, two questions present in the minds of many who admit the validity of these objectives. One is whether it is possible to attain them, and if so, by what means. The other is whether an obligation to see that they are attained should be assumed by our federal government.

During the war in Europe, the British government formally declared its resolution to maintain a high level of employment in the future. This pledge was made by the issuance of a White Paper by the Coalition Cabinet, which outlined the means by which it was proposed to seek the end in view. Although in the Soviet Union the right to a job has long been a constitutional guarantee, this is the first time that a great nation with an economy characterized mainly by private enterprise has made such a commitment. In the United States, various important leaders such as President Roosevelt, Henry A. Wallace and Judge Vinson have made declarations in favor of a full-employment policy, but the United States government has never officially adopted this course. A bill has now been introduced in Congress with the support of Senators Wagner, Murray and others which, if passed, will put our government on record with the statement that "all Americans able to work and seeking work have the right to useful, remunerative, regular and full-time employment, and it is the policy of the United States to assure the existence at all times of sufficient employment opportunities to enable all Americans who have finished their schooling and who do not have full-time housekeeping responsibilities freely to exercise this right." Let us examine this bill to understand in more detail what it proposes.

Does the bill aim at socialization of our economy or putting the government into business? No; the first item in its declaration of policy favors "free competitive enterprise and the investment of private capital in trade and commerce and the development of the natural resources of the United States."

What, then, is the general nature of the program? It proposes first to discover every year, by advance estimates, how large the working force will be, and whether the expenditures of private business, consumers and the various levels of government will be sufficient to provide jobs for all. If a deficiency of spending is in prospect, the government will then act to fill the breach.

Does this mean that governmental spending is the only means proposed to make sure there are enough jobs? No; there are a large number of things the government may do in such circumstances. It may increase the purchasing power of the public by reducing taxes. It may act to stimulate private investment. It may prevent restrictive practices by monopolies or take other measures to reduce prices. It may adopt any recommended policy whatever. The choice of possible action is left completely open by the bill.

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When the government does spend to increase employment opportunity, will it engage in work relief or "leaf-raking projects?" No; the bill binds the government to make only such expenditure as will "contribute to the national wealth and well-being," and "stimulate increased employment opportunities by private enterprise."

What is the procedure specified in the bill to put this program into effect? Every year the President must submit to Congress a budget for the whole national economy, to be called the National Production and Employment Budget. This budget must contain estimates for the ensuing year (or even for a longer period if the President so desires) of the number of people who will be available for jobs, of the amount of total expenditure which would be necessary in order that these people may be employed, and of the amount of expenditure which is actually in prospect. If the prospective spending is too small to provide full employment, the national budget must include recommendations designed to enlarge it to the required amount.

What if the total expected spending is too large to employ the number of people seeking work? In that case, there would be a danger of rising prices and inflation, and the President must make recommendations for the reduction of expenditure or other means of stabilizing prices.

How is this budget to be prepared? It is to be drawn up in the executive office of the President under his supervision, after consultation with the various departments and establishments of the government. The President may also form advisory boards to help him in his task. Such boards may be composed of representatives of industry, labor, agriculture, and others.

Is it possible to make good estimates of the sort called for? Such estimates have already been made by various unofficial bodies and economists. The United States now has an enormous amount of economic statistical material which can be used for this purpose. The estimates which have been made are exceedingly crude, but they could be greatly improved if it were the function of the government to obtain and interpret the necessary information and if, year by year, the skill in making them were increased by comparison of forecasts with actual results. It is the practice of every important corporation and governmental unit to budget its own activities in advance, and there is no reason why the total economy of the United States could not be budgeted with sufficient accuracy to serve the purpose in view. No one would advocate that a business concern should refrain from budgeting because forecasts cannot always be exactly correct.

What would Congress do with the National Budget submitted by the President? The bill would set up a joint committee on the National Budget. This committee would be composed of the chairmen and the ranking minority members of the appropriate committees of both Houses of Congress, plus seven additional members from each House. It would be the duty of this committee to report to the Senate and the House, not later than March 1 of each year, its findings with regard to the President's National Budget, and its recommendations for action. It is the hope that Congress would then pass any necessary legislation to carry out the full-employment policy.

Assuming that Congress had taken the recommended action, what would happen during the ensuing year before the next National Budget was submitted? Obviously, the development of employment and business conditions during the year might be different from that expected when Congress acted upon the Budget. In order to allow some flexibility, the President is directed to review the situation quarterly and alter the amount of investment or spending by the federal government in accordance with the requirements. If unemployment existed, he might increase spending, or if there were an inflationary tendency, he might decrease spending. Of course, he could make such changes only within the limits of the appropriations or other bills previously passed by Congress.

What is the basic economic concept on which this bill rests? It is that at any given level of prices, the total amount of employment varies with the total amount spent for the products of labor. This concept assumes that at any given time the demand for labor may be less than the supply, because an insufficient amount of money is being spent. It also assumes that at any given time the demand for labor may be greater than the supply, because an excessive amount of money is being spent. It aims to balance the total demand for labor with the total supply by attempting to influence expenditure in the proper direction.

Is this economic concept a sound one? When stated in such general terms, almost all economists would agree that it is axiomatic. The disagreements begin with discussion of the reasons for lack of equality between demand for and supply of labor, and the nature of the remedial action which should be taken. Some economists, for instance, would argue that the proper remedy for unemployment is reduction of wages rather than increase of public expenditure. Some would favor increased incentive to private enterprise by reduced taxation of profits, whereas others would favor reducing taxes on the mass of consumers. Recommendations would vary widely according to the theoretical bias of the economist in question and according to the nature of the particular situation.

Does the bill commit the United States to any one of these particular theories or remedies? It leaves the field wide open for argument among the President's advisers and among members of Congress. Conceivably, any remedy whatever, even that proposed by the most reactionary theorists, could be recommended and enacted. Even the theory that the best remedy is

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complete lack of intervention by government could be put into practice. The one thing the bill does make necessary is that the essential facts be estimated and that some program having relation to the findings be recommended.

Is the concept underlying this bill applicable to all conceivable causes of unemployment? No; it applies only to the largest and most general causes. Even though total demand is sufficient, unemployment may arise from lack of mobility of labor, lack of adjustment of skills to the particular types of demand which exist, seasonal variation and other factors. There is nothing, however, which would prevent these other difficulties from being attacked, even though we made sure that the total expenditure was sufficient to create enough employment opportunities in general.

Will enactment of the bill guarantee the existence of full employment in the future? By no means. The outcome depends upon whether the situation is correctly analyzed in the National Budget and whether Congress takes action which produces the desired result. Numerous economists who favor specific programs for the elimination of unemployment would believe something much closer to a guarantee could be enacted if the bill provided for the type of action they approve. It may even be that there is a fundamental incompatibility between the declared policy of the bill to favor private enterprise and the declared policy to guarantee full employment.

What might a more specific policy be? It might be, for example, that favored by Sir William Beveridge in his book, *Full Employment in a Free Society*. Beveridge, like the authors of this bill, proposes a national budget for the total economy. His plan, however, would attempt to influence consumption expenditures and investment directly by such mandatory measures as might be required. He would not hesitate to interfere with private enterprise as much as might be necessary to achieve the end in view. He recommends national ownership of some basic and monopolistic industries and governmental purchase and sale of the elementary necessities of consumers such as food and clothing. The British Labor Party would go farther than Sir William in the direction of national ownership and control.

What is the main function of the full-employment bill? Its principal contribution is that it pledges the government to pursue a full-employment policy and that it creates the machinery for bringing together the principal facts bearing on the problem and concentrating attention on the adoption of remedies. It is essentially an educational device. Presumably, it could not long be in effect before a more specific program for dealing with unemployment would have to be developed.

Ought American progressives to support this bill? Most of them will probably regard it as inadequate. They will believe that something more definite than this is needed to prevent future unemployment. Nevertheless, the bill establishes what almost everyone can agree is an essential first step. Its enactment would not be an obstacle to whatever else may be required, but on the contrary would facilitate informed discussion of policy. Its virtue is that it establishes a common ground on which all who are concerned with the problem may be united, regardless of their particular theories. It might be difficult to obtain enactment of anything more than this in the near future. The bill is therefore worthy of progressive support.

GEORGE SOULE

The Pauley Puzzle

EVERY UNITED STATES administration produces its own special heroes and devils. The Truman administration has not yet had time to gather its quota of either. But at the moment, Edwin W. Pauley ranks high in Washington gossip as one of the potential powers.

Until recently, Ed Pauley was little known even to political reporters. He had made himself a millionaire and a minor figure in California state politics by the time he was forty. He held no national position until he was named treasurer of the Democratic National Committee in 1942. Yet today, through an unusual series of circumstances, there is serious speculation about the use of this oil-man-turned-politician for many important jobs, like Secretary of the Interior or of the Navy, Federal Loan Administrator, or as candidate for Governor of or Senator from California.

Pauley was for Truman before Chicago. He helped Chairman Bob Hannegan engineer the deal which made Truman Vice President instead of Wallace. He worked untiringly in the 1944 campaign, and did so successful a job as treasurer that there were adequate funds for the first time in many Democratic campaigns. In an administration which honors party obligations and party loyalty, such a record can command almost any reward within reason. There is no reason to believe Ed Pauley intends to pass up his reward, so the facts about his past and present may be important to us all in the future.

Ed Pauley was born in Indiana 42 years ago, lived the first sixteen years of his life in Alabama, and then became a Californian. He earned his way through Occidental College and the University of California selling encyclopedias and working in the oil fields.

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College included postgraduate work in Economics and a short period teaching that subject at the University. After an airplane crack-up which confined him to bed for a full year, Pauley persuaded some backers to set him up in the oil business. First, he leased one refinery, then expanded into production as well as refining and organized the Petrol Corporation with himself as president. That company has produced the major part of his personal fortune, which is estimated at several millions.

In the 1930's, when Pauley was getting rich, California oil interests were divided into two groups, the "Majors" (Standard Oil, General Petroleum, Union Oil, Richfield, et al.) and the "SOBS," or "Independents," as they were sometimes called. Pauley's Petrol Corporation was in the latter class. He and such other companies as Wilshire Oil and Gas and Mohawk ran bargain-basement operations, cutting retail prices two to three cents per gallon below Standard and the majors. The customers of their filling stations were willing to forgo the luxurious restrooms and movieland elegance of the big places for the lower price. To fight the independents, the majors organized a series of new companies which were known in the industry as "concubine subsidiaries"; they were not technically subsidiaries but the majors spoke for them whenever the need arose, as for instance before NRA hearings. Signal Oil had such a "concubine" relationship to Standard Oil. In 1939, Pauley's Petrol Corporation found its back to the wall, like many another business. The Signal Company bailed it out; on one payday, at least, Petrol employees were paid with Signal Company checks.

Soon thereafter Pauley began to show an active interest in politics. The feuding between him and the majors was apparently over. Men like Ralph Davies and J. Howard Marshall of Standard became his close associates, and they fought together a short time later for passage of the Atkinson oil-control bill, favored by the majors and feared by the small independent companies. Pauley worked actively for the election of Culbert Olson to the governorship, raised money for the ticket, and was undoubtedly gratified when Governor Olson later sided with him and Standard on the Atkinson oil bill.

Governor Olson appointed Pauley to the State Natural Resources Commission and to the interstate Oil and Compact Commission and raised him to real respectability by appointing him to the University of California Board of Regents. When the 1940 presidential campaign came along, Pauley helped raise money for that too. Pauley himself explains that the year he spent in a hospital bed soon after he left college gave him time to think and read, that he was even then inspired by the story of the courageous New York politician who had overcome a much more serious disaster, and that he was from then on a Roosevelt man. But the California Democrats who led the Roosevelt fight in 1932 and 1936 cannot recall seeing Pauley around until after Olson's 1938 campaign.

Pauley raised enough money for '40 to impress the National Democratic Chairman, Ed Flynn, although a part of it at least was merely a loan to the New York State organization. After the campaign, Flynn tried to do something for Pauley. Several administration leaders were asked to recommend him to the President for Assistant Secretary of the Navy, because, it was admitted, the President still had to be sold on Pauley. When that move failed, Flynn made him party secretary and treasurer, and Pauley conducted his moves for national recognition from that base.

From the time we entered the war, Pauley gave good service in several special assignments, involving his knowledge of the oil business and his academic specialty, transportation. He advised on ways of rerouting our domestic tank cars so as to release critically needed tanker ships to Britain, and negotiated a lend-lease petroleum agreement with Russia. When a War Petroleum Administration was obviously needed, Pauley recommended his old friend Ralph Davies from Standard of California to head it, and arranged for other administration leaders also to recommend him to Secretary Harold Ickes, with whom he was then on good terms. Davies was appointed, and other friends of his and Pauley's came to Washington with him.

While Secretary Ickes was campaigning on the West Coast last fall, he and Pauley had a fight over the tidelands-oil question—possibly the beginning of the plot to oust him that Ickes is quoted as charging Pauley with conducting. Columnist Marquis Childs reported the set-to. Ickes told Pauley that the federal government had a definite concern with off-shore oil and intended to do whatever was necessary to protect the public interest. Pauley, according to Childs, snapped back, "The issue has been decided 48 times by the Supreme Court. Now what are you stirring it up all over again for?" Back in Washington, Ickes let it drop "that Pauley had hinted of generous campaign contributions conditional on a forgetful attitude about off-shore oil." Pauley flatly denies this and says he has never sought any contribution with strings on it.

In his memoirs, *The Ghost Talks*, Democratic press agent Charlie Michelson reports that "two amiable, efficient and altruistic millionaires, Edwin W. Pauley (oil) and Dick Reynolds (tobacco), became respectively secretary and treasurer under Chairman Ed Flynn," and later, "Actually ours was a hand-to-mouth existence most of the time. . . . For the year previous to this writing I am sure that Pauley and Reynolds kept the establishment alive. These two were the political heroes of 1941-'42. Their contribution had to come by a devious passage. It was on the same principle that our freight ships to the war fronts had to be routed around the Cape of Good Hope to avoid

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being torpedoed—which suggests that if the motive be virtuous and the desire intense, there can be no insurmountable obstacles." More than one penurious and forgiving cabinet member remarked sagely that "the money has to come from somewhere."

Pauley took to Washington right away. It didn't take him long to understand that to go places fast, he would have to have his men in the Democratic National Committee itself, in the administrative agencies, in Congress and back in the state organization. In the natural course of the 1940 and 1944 campaigns, he brought in old friends and advanced new ones to build a loyal personal staff. When Pauley resigned as Democratic treasurer, his staff stayed with the committee. His lieutenant, George Killion, a Safeway Stores spokesman who helped raise money for Olson, too, succeeded to Pauley's job. "Judge" Mayhock, who doubled on Pauley and committee legal business, and Neal Roach, an efficient henchman, are still around.

When the surplus-property agency was established, Pauley's friend, James Shepherd, a Los Angeles attorney, appeared on War Mobilizer Byrnes's slate of nominees for that board until attacked by too many groups to survive. Recently another Pauley man has won an important post: Harold Judson, Los Angeles attorney also interested in tidelands oil, has been named Assistant Solicitor General by Truman's Attorney General Thomas C. Clark, from that other tidelands-oil state, Texas. Solicitor General Charles Fahy is on overseas assignment, so presumably Texan Clark and Solicitor Judson will determine when to bring suit on the tidelands case which former Attorney General Biddle and Secretary Ickes joined in filing at the tail end of the Biddle regime.

On April 27, President Truman appointed Pauley his personal representative on reparations matters, with the rank of Ambassador. Those of Pauley's friends who interpreted this as *the* payoff were delighted that the President made so sound a move. This appointment gave Pauley international stature and the chance for social recognition always denied the Pauleys by the Roosevelts. And in this job Pauley would know how to operate and would probably drive a good bargain for the United States.

But Pauley's old associates believe this is only the beginning. Personal political ambition, they say, has set in. Having established his national status, Pauley turned back to California in 1942, to build a solid position there. He used Bob Robertson, state chairman, as his front man, and took advantage of the "unity-minded" leadership in the liberal and labor quarters to push for a united front for him for National Committeeman from California in 1944. He won that job and the California delegation for Truman at Chicago at the same time. California leaders like San Francisco's Bill Malone and Los Angeles' Bob Kenny are now trailing with "Big Ed" Pauley.

Ed Pauley has been sipping heady wine as a member of the President's personal party at Potsdam. With the able Isador Lubin to conduct the detailed work of the reparations commission, Pauley should be ready to return to the United States very shortly. At that time his motives and President Truman's primary drive may be jointly revealed. If desire for personal political preference has become Pauley's dominant motive, he will try to cash his check on Truman's party gratitude for a high administration position. Such a move would furnish the first real test of Truman the Party Leader v. Truman the Good President.

Washington HELEN FULLER

Sovereignty and the Charter

THE UNANIMITY with which the Senate has accepted the United Nations Charter disturbs me because I feel that it does not reflect the true convictions of the chamber. I cannot help but think that the principal reason for its unexpected approval in certain quarters may be induced by the assurance, which some proponents have made, that we sacrifice none of our American sovereignty. This implies a confusion of thought and a misapprehension which, unless corrected, may defeat the very purpose of the new instrument. It implies that there will be no change in the status quo—that we shall have peace without paying for it.

Actually, if the American nation is accepting this Charter in good faith, it means a complete departure from our traditional policy in international relations. That is why I find something disturbing in the unanimity with which the Senate approached the matter. Was this docility attributable in some degree to the belief that the Charter means nothing, that it is an idle gesture? Is it possible that those who have steadfastly and sincerely believed that America can live apart from the world have changed their minds—or do they think that the present sentiment is only a passing fancy and that as soon as the horrors of war recede we shall return into the exclusiveness of the twenties and thirties?

Sometimes I have wished that the advocates of the Charter had not been quite so persuasive. A more spirited debate, a little more opposition on the floor, might have served to sharpen our understanding and appreciation of the true significance of this agreement. I find myself somewhat suspicious of the unanimity with which the Charter was received. Practically no measure of real importance has been accepted with

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such docility by the opposition. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and the Bretton Woods proposals were, unlike the Charter, vigorously opposed, and yet they were integral parts of the general plan and purpose embodied in the document.

Is it possible that the Charter has been oversold, both to the public and to the Senate? By this I mean that the obligations and responsibilities that we are assuming have been played down, and have been presented in a negative manner. I have no doubt, in my own mind, that the public overwhelmingly supports the principles of the Charter. Some of the discussion of the Charter might lead one to believe that it is a thoroughly innocuous instrument. I do not subscribe to that view and I think it is of the utmost importance that we have a true understanding of its powers, of the positive things it proposes as well as of its limitations, if we are to avoid disillusionment in the future.

This Charter does not ipso facto prevent war. It is the machinery by which reason may be applied to the adjustment of conflicting interests among nations, but it does not automatically adjust those conflicts. The making of peace is a process continuing from year to year so long as our civilization shall last. Peace is not a negative, static concept. This Charter is adequate as a vehicle for the transition to a world of law and order only if the peoples of the Big Five nations, and more particularly of the Big Three, are determined to exercise their power with wisdom and foresight in the cause of peace. Otherwise it will fail—but that will not be because of a defect in the Charter itself.

The fact that I believe this Charter is not the final word, that I regard it rather as merely the first modest and hesitant step, sufficient to point the direction but utterly inadequate by itself to achieve the goal of lasting peace, does not seriously lessen my satisfaction that it has come before the Senate for passage. Yet so much has been said of the virtues of the Charter that I should like to offer a criticism, not so much to minimize its immediate importance, but as a suggestion for consideration during the process of making it work in the years ahead.

The first principle of the organization, contained in Article Two, declares that it "is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members."

I think this is an unfortunate principle because it reaffirms our allegiance to the concept of national sovereignty under which our civilization has so closely approached self-destruction. If rigidly adhered to, it means a denial of the only evolutionary goal which might eventually give us a rule of law based on justice in place of the capricious and ruthless rule of force.

The very word "sovereignty" is uncertain and to me objectionable, and much confusion results from its use. To many people it has some mystical connotation in some way associated with Divinity. In days gone by when men were slaves, their masters imposed their will by an appeal to the divine right of kings. More than three hundred years ago our forefathers started the long hard struggle to destroy the sovereignty of the rulers who enslaved the people and to substitute the rule of law in their place. Sovereignty, according to our democratic principles, resides in the people or in the community, not in the governments which they create. In one sense, only a totalitarian or fascist state is "sovereign." The people may delegate any powers they wish to their representatives, but they do not delegate their sovereignty to their government. Hence it is clear that the people of this nation, and of all democratic nations, have not only the power, but also, one may say, the duty, to create by additional delegation an institution adequate to preserve their integrity and freedom. Article Two of the Charter, with its emphasis on sovereignty, does not, furthermore, state the facts as they exist. Does anyone believe that the states of Nicaragua and Luxembourg, within the Charter or without the Charter, are equal to Russia and the United States? The people of the countries as individuals may be equal before the law, but there is no established international law and the agreement does not relate to people but to governments.

In creating a more effective instrumentality to protect the people from war and destruction, how can it possibly be said to be the surrender of sovereignty? It is the acquisition of a power previously non-existent. Just as we have acquired new powers through machines, we must acquire new powers through political organizations to bring back into balance the relationships upset by the machines.

The most serious consequences of the use of this unfortunate word is the probability that it will fortify and revitalize the extreme nationalism which is quite inconsistent with the establishment of rules of conduct for all nations. I cannot help but think that the principal reason for the unexpected approval of the Charter in certain quarters may have been induced by the assurance which some proponents have made that we sacrifice none of our American sovereignty.

The lesson of two world wars is that our government can no longer completely fulfil the purpose for which it was created. It can no longer protect our people from the disastrous effects of war, even though victorious in the warfare itself. Therefore it is entirely appropriate, in fact it is essential, that our people consider the delegation of power to some other and higher organization which is reasonably designed to perform the function which the government cannot perform. This we shall do by the acceptance of this Charter, and also by the progressive building of the United Nations Organization into an effective system of law and order.

Washington J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

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Washington Notes

Eyes on England

WASHINGTON is isolated. Socialists have taken over the United Kingdom, following control in Australia and New Zealand. The United States is the last—the only—great power left wedded to social and economic conservatism. The world is moving leftwards; cross-currents here are in the opposite direction.

It seems strange to be a correspondent in the heart of the world's last great conservative power. Back in 1785 it would have been different. Then I would have been writing to you as a revolutionary: spreading the flaming gospel to the unbelieving world that America's lonely experiment in representative democracy could, and would work. But that was 160 years ago. Once again today the United States stands almost alone. Here is the capital of conservatism, the only nation on earth where Hayek's book against planning could sell by tens of thousands. Only here in Washington would you find a major power without a national system of unemployment benefits, without a national insurance program for public health, without a federal-aid education system to promote children of the poorer states from their present second-class citizenship. Only in America would the mild reforms of a Roosevelt be regarded as dangerous radicalism. Other nations have their blatherskite-types of Rankins and Bilbos, but only here would estimable Senators like Taft, Tydings and George regard a system of national planning with shocked abhorrence.

The Charter has passed, of course. The debate had its moments: Wheeler's revealing isolationist speech, Fulbright's lone attack on national sovereignty, George's affecting appeal—as a father who had lost a soldier son—for a new effort to end war. The fact is, though, we had all looked for drama and it did not appear. I am one of those who forecast a battle six months ago, and I plead guilty. It never developed. Public sentiment in favor of the Charter was too strong. The Senate debate never seemed to me to recover from the funny experience of Tom Connally in his opening address. He felt the eyes of the world on him on this historic occasion, and he prepared his peroration. His ample chest expanded under his dazzling Palm Beach suit. His hand lifted. Tom Connally is one of the few old-time, florid-faced, long-haired senators left. We in the press galleries crouched for the take-off of a Purple Passage. And then, after recalling "the shot heard round the world," Tom tried to give the author's name—and stopped, so to speak, in mid-air. He couldn't remember it. He whispered to the clerk. Galleries tittered. The clerk whispered back. "Ah-h," said Tom, clearing his throat, "as Emerson said——" and went on. But he bogged down hopelessly in trying to quote the rest of it. The effect was lost.

Well, that incident rather set the tone of the whole thing for this observer. There was a lot of sincerity in the speeches, but a lot of hokum, too. Incidentally, I noticed that Tom corrected his back-firing quotation in the *Congressional Record* and included the word "[Applause]."

The Charter debate did settle one enormously important thing. The measure to implement the Charter by military force, which must be enacted later on, will be sent to Congress not as a treaty but as a joint resolution. In other words, it will need a simple majority vote of both houses, not the two-thirds vote in the Senate required under the Constitution for a treaty.

The mix-up over this vital matter has been extraordinary. Apparently the issue was left obscure at San Francisco. Then John Foster Dulles, Republican elder statesman on foreign policy, who was put on the witness stand by the State Department, told the Senate committee flatly that the implementation authority would have to come through the treaty route. Observers who knew little about the San Francisco Charter, but a lot about the difficulty of the Senate two-thirds hurdle, were appalled. But Tom Connally, a San Francisco delegate, agreed with Dulles. If Mr. Vandenberg had reservations he did not then say so. All the emphasis was negative—on what the Charter did not do, and on the safeguards for the United States.

Ultimately, however, a group of younger senators went on strike. They rebelled. Putting through Charter implementation by the treaty route simply postponed the whole battle. It gave an obstructive "32-plus-one minority," led by Wheeler, Shipstead & Co., a second chance to ruin American participation. Senator Lucas brought the issue straight to the floor, and member after member supported him. A two-thirds majority isn't needed.

There are three vacancies on the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals, a court to which come more labor and anti-trust cases than to any other appellate court in the country. There is a serious danger that Truman will fill these posts with political appointees. He is being urged to do this by party associates. It is a matter of deepest concern that the Roosevelt progress in liberalizing the judiciary not be lost. Here, indeed, is a national issue which all progressives must watch. Within a fortnight Federal District Judge Albert W. Johnson, of the Pennsylvania Middle Court, has resigned under the most serious charges of crookedness in allocating receiverships. I checked the Johnson case with the Justice Department and found that old-time respectable GOP Senators G. W. Pepper and Reed recommended this man, and impeccable Coolidge named him. The Johnson case is a reminder. Long after Truman leaves office his appointees will continue to function.

Notes.—Transportation chiefs are protesting the speed with which the army is returning troops; about this time last year Tom Dewey was charging FDR with being afraid of bringing soldiers back—Remember? . . .Ex-Admiral Thomas Hart (R) of Conn. appointed to the Senate by Governor Baldwin without Democratic opposition as an out-and-out internationalist, recently voted for the Taft Bretton Woods amendment, which Barkley charged would have "killed" the measure, and opposes coal exports to Europe. . . . Congress, in its present mood, will almost certainly reject postwar compulsory military training. . . . Anti-poll-tax advocates have scored a victory in getting a Southerner, Pepper (D) of Florida, to sponsor their Senate repeal bill.

Washington T. R. B.

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Gag Rule

"Junior Miss" is a mildly funny, thin, comic portrait of a few winter months in the life of an imaginative little girl named Judy Graves (Peggy Ann Garner), who goes to double-features and sees everything in terms of them. The comedy in "Junior Miss" is tried for, in part, by having the children broadly enact attitudes that are supposed to be childish copies of their parents' acting and those of movie people. The children seem unchildlike and unreal because of the heaviness of these actions; they turn several degrees too awkward and unnatural and the attitudes themselves seem neither very real nor funny. Miss Garner is much more natural than the others, but she doesn't strike me as being either adolescent, naïve or much but an ambitious, controlled actress. The children seem too carefully curried and dressed, and you are shown little of their adolescence. "Junior Miss" is—according to people who have also seen the play—a faithful adaptation, but, like the average play, it is talky, it has trouble getting outside the Graves's living room, and every time a child goes off to a movie or a dance or has a date, the event is skipped and you are back in the living room listening to a conversation pretty much like the one that preceded it. There are funny spots—those having to do with the bedeviling of the elevator boy and the scorn of Judy's pal Fuffy for her parents; but I think the film could show more feeling than it does, for instance, some of the very moving, very childlike emotion that is got in a brief scene of Judy playing for the last time with a doll.

The study of adolescence is pallid and theatrically mannered, but the treatment of Judy's parents is less broad and more human and knowing. There is perfect casting in the role of the mother (Sylvia Field), who is less like a movie mother than any I've seen in years but resembles most of the ones I have seen shopping in Junior Miss departments. I liked the apartment building that was used to represent one of the less securely expensive buildings on Central Park, and the Graves's apartment is correctly dull and sterile.

The first of the Gary Cooper productions, "Along Came Jones," is, with a certain amount of good spirits and the desire to do something different in movies, a half-kidding of the kind of cowboy films in which Cooper has acted. But the movie gets awfully snarled (though Nunnally Johnson wrote the script) and talkative, and doesn't seem either funny as a parody or exhilarating as a Western.

Danny Kaye's new film, "Wonder Man," is not less theatrical or inhuman than "Along Came Jones" or "Junior Miss," but it is a much more entertaining, talented one to see. Kaye plays a night-club comic—a mildly irritating one because of his conceit, crassness and passion for goosing—the comic's more likable twin brother, and the comic as a ghost after he is murdered by gangsters. All in all, the three parts allow him to use his talents for mimicry, mugging and screaming probably more than any of them has been used in even a half-dozen films. It is just as well, because the other three actors are Donald Woods and two very similar blonde heroines even more uninteresting than Woods. The production is more decorative and rich than is comfortable, and the dancing is mechanical and boring.

There is a memorable climax in which Kaye, in flight from the gangsters, ends up on the stage of the Metropolitan looking like a goof and doing a crazy operatic parody during which he manages to tell the audience about the murder of a fan dancer named Coochie LaVerne. Kaye's attitude during this song changes elaborately from cringing fear to self-satisfied confidence, and each change is surprising and subtle. A nice diva sings and wrestles with Kaye through the duet, helping to make the duet formations as funny as the singing. There are two other good Kaye episodes: one a volatile argument among four Italians that the comedian breaks into in fake Italian and stops at its loudest with a screaming "Shaddup!"; the other an adroit parody of a jovial Russian baritone singing "Dark Eyes" during a fit of sneezing. Kaye manages each of his effects so that it comes at the best moment, very clear and well, and he is very deft in surprising you with the unexpected, such as repeating a yell even a fifteenth time, or, as in the sneezing act, managing an infinite number of improvisations on a single idea.

I don't think he compares very well with comics like Keaton, Langdon or Chaplin, because the character he presents is somewhat ordinary and dull compared to the imaginative personalities of the best movie comedians, or compared even to those of some of the lesser ones like Charley Chase or Lloyd Hamilton. Also in the night-club style of comedy that Kaye uses there is too little that seems spontaneous and too much that was carefully, doggedly and minutely worked out by gag-writers. All these reservations could be made about almost every modern movie comic, and I mention them about Kaye in the interest of making one more plea for comedies which aren't mainly the work of gag-writers, which allow the comedian to work at least part of the time rather freely, which would be more relaxed and not under the laborious necessity to be foolproof, and which are dominantly film comedies rather than a mixture of the styles of radio, theatre and films.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

The people, Taft complains, are overwhelmingly in favor of the Bretton Woods Monetary Agreements, which he opposes. The fault, he says, is that the people have been victims of propaganda. . . . "If this propaganda is permitted to continue, Congress might as well stop trying to legislate," Taft said. – *From* PM.

The community mausoleum [Memorial Park Cemetery] offers year-round comfort at surprisingly low, long-term cost. – *From the Chicago* Daily News.

Magazine Ideology

It took all Miss Moffat's feminine wiles to win the support of the village squire (Nigel Bruce), who considered her ideas much too progressive and reactionary. – *Caption on a movie still in* Redbook.

At Long Last

ARMY FATHER AND SON MEET
IN PENTAGON AFTER TWO YEARS

– *Headline in the Washington* Evening Star.

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On the Home Front

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A princely garment designed expressly for the special delectation and usage of those favored folk who may indulge their every wish. Rich, soft beyond belief, aristocratic—these Vicuna topcoats are decidedly rare. In fact, candor dictates the admission that eight is all we can secure of these Vicunas this season.—*Advertisement in the New York* Times.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.*—THE EDITORS

Correspondence

English Dialects and Middle American Speech

SIR: In Mr. Malcolm Cowley's able and interesting review of *A Dictionary of American English* (the *New Republic*, July 9), one passage calls to mind the first edition of *The American Language*, wherein Mr. Mencken referred to *this clause* as English, and *this here one* as American. We must be on our guard against contrasting the literary language of England with substandard American speech.

Alongside Mr. Cowley's quotation from Mark Twain we might set four of Tennyson's Lincolnshire poems: "Northern Cobbler," "Northern Farmer (Old Style)," "Northern Farmer (New Style)," and "Owd Roä." Each of the four contains several double (or triple) negatives. The multiple negative, once correct, is psychologically so natural that we may probably look for it wherever English is unregimented. Similarly natural is the inserted pronoun (Mark Twain: *Bill he;* "Northern Cobbler": *Sally she, Doctor 'e*—five instances in all). "The English Dialect Grammar" (in Volume VI of *The English Dialect Dictionary*) notes the tendency, in all dialects of England and Scotland, to use a redundant personal pronoun for emphasis.

The past tense, "I niver *giv* it a thowt," appears in "Northern Farmer (New Style)"; *them* pictures, *them* words and *wonst* in "Owd Roä." On all these forms EDD offers extended information; it contains in addition an article on *twicet*. *Jist* and *off'n* (spelled *offan* or *offen*) are recorded by EDD; so is *nuther* at the end of a negative sentence. The plural *ton* is covered by a general rule, in "English Dialect Grammar," concerning nouns of weight, measure, etc.

Thus the first set of words for which Mr. Cowley could find no entries in the *Dictionary of American English* turns out—with the exception of *wisht*—to be quite as characteristic of British as of American dialect.

JOSEPHINE M. BURNHAM,
Department of English Literature and
Lawrence, Kan. Language, the University of Kansas

SIR: Professor Burnham makes and documents a sound point, and I should no more argue with her than with *The Oxford English Dictionary*. But there is more to be said. The various English dialects are dialects properly speaking. Middle American speech is closely related to some of them, but it is more than a dialect, and for two reasons: first, because of its wide geographical distribution and its use by perhaps a hundred million persons (or people, in American); second, because it has been slowly developing into a literary language. All literary languages were dialects in the beginning; it was largely the authority of Chaucer that caused one of the many English dialects to be chosen above the others. *Huckleberry Finn* was the first novel to be written completely in Middle American; and therefore all the unorthodox turns of speech in it should receive careful attention from lexicographers.

Gaylordsville, Conn. MALCOLM COWLEY

Mr. Rockefeller at San Francisco

SIR: I heartily disapprove of Helen Fuller's article about Nelson Rockefeller in the *New Republic* of July 2, 1945. It is writing of this kind that causes trouble and dissension—a stirring up of class feeling. I have just come from the San Francisco Conference where Mr. Rockefeller acquitted himself in a splendid manner.

I think your article is outrageous. Talk about a free press! I wonder how long people can endure the license you use.

MRS. LA FELL DICKINSON, President,
Washington, D. C. the General Federation of Women's Clubs

[Freedom of the press implies to us a corresponding responsibility to report facts accurately and to present opinions which seem to accord with them. Mrs. Dickinson's letter does not contain any evidence on the basis of which Miss Fuller's article might be attacked in either of these respects. If such evidence can be produced, we shall be glad to give it due consideration.—THE EDITORS.]

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Mr. Robert Rives LaMonte of New York City writes to agree with our editorial, "Storm Warning," in the issue of July 23. He points out that the reservoir of postwar purchasing power is in the hands of a few, and deplores the failure of Congress to pass legislation raising unemployment benefits and thus diffusing purchasing power. He hopes that the inevitable unemployment resulting from reconversion will be shortened by an international economic policy, but remarks that "in the long run, in spite of all hopes for better days, even if they are largely realized, we must revolutionize our internal domestic economy in a way to bring greater comfort and greatly increased purchasing power to our workers."

H. H., a T/5, writes to protest the campaign for peacetime conscription that "the professional military men in Washington are trying to force through Congress. . . ." He feels that a system of conscript armies is likely to lead to war rather than to peace and cites his experience, "as a draftee of eighteen months' standing," that army discipline is often "degrading, humiliating and brutalizing" and warns that the militarism we are fighting will of necessity appear in this country if a conscription bill is passed.

Towards a World of Plenty, a pamphlet issued by the United Nations Information Office, tells the story of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Copies, at 10 cents, may be obtained from the office at 610 Fifth Avenue, New York 20.

David George, campaign manager of the Plunkett for Governor Club, Richmond, Virginia, sends us a letter from Earl Wood, campaign assistant, asking "liberals and progressives all over the country" to contribute to the anti-Byrd campaign in the Virginia gubernatorial primary on August 7. Moses Plunkett, president of the Southern Electoral Reform League, is running for Governor, opposed by a "hand-picked candidate of the Byrd machine." Campaign contributions are needed to help in "reversing the reactionary role whereby Virginia has so long misled the South." They may be sent to Miss Marian Robinson, Treasurer, Plunkett for Governor Club, Hotel Murphy, Richmond, Virginia.

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Books in Review

China without Glamor

IT IS my fanatical notion that in this day of China's grim plight everything written about that tragic country, whether political thesis or confessed fiction, must first of all face the test of what sort of contribution it makes to America's sympathetic understanding of the land. In that respect, as in all other possible tests, *Rickshaw Boy*[1] ranks high. This sad, brave, unglamorized novel by one of the courageous contemporary Chinese authors is just the kind of book that is best suited to the education of the intelligent reader who wants to acquire both a sensible emotional appreciation of the ordinary men and women of our Far Eastern ally and a thorough comprehension of their humanity and their essential invincibility. It makes them not only real and understandable, but so warm and rich and modestly valiant that all the world can see why those foreigners who know them treasure them so. Without a word of propaganda, it is a most valuable propaganda work for the idealistic theory that all men of good will are brothers.

Some of the most important qualities of the work can best be suggested by a few emphatic negatives. It is not an exotic or studiously picturesque novel. It never tries to be whimsical or roguish or romantically colorful. It doesn't preach or scream or go in for editorials of any kind. It neither avoids the earthy ugliness necessary to its subject matter nor makes any attempt to overemphasize it for sensational purposes. In its simplicity you see set down indestructibly the portrait of a good man; the spirit of a great city and a great people; the tragedy and the long-suffering bravery of a class and the entire dilemma in microcosm of a nation in ferment. It is paying the book a merited tribute to say that after you have read it the Chinese common man need no longer seem an alien to you.

For American readers the idea of choosing a rickshaw boy as the central character was an admirable one. With our sometimes confused conceptions of human dignity we naturally tend to feel that for one human being to hire himself out to another as draft animal is the depth of personal degradation. The truth is that it is an important proof of the essentially independent spirit of the humblest Chinese that he is certain enough of his own dignity to be able to indulge in such a transaction without losing it. Certainly selling such a service does not make him feel that he is the inferior of the man he is pulling. Happy Boy, the immensely engaging hero, suffers bitterly from the cruelty of man and society; he is misused and tormented and set upon, but he never loses either his sense of pride or his conviction that his work has dignity and value. By revealing so clearly the personal worth, the democratic individuality, of this downtrodden, illiterate descendant of an ancient civilization, the author dramatizes both the hope for the future inherent in such fine human material and the desperate plight of a nation that has subjected him to such misery.

The author, Lau Shaw, is one of that earnest, determined group of Chinese writers currently living in or near Chungking and striving, amid the handicaps of poverty, inflation, discomfort and censorship, to build a contemporary national literature of quality and distinction. That he is a novelist of fine attainments and high compassion is clearly demonstrated in this, his first novel to be published in the United States. Ably and sensitively translated into English by an American, Evan King, *Rickshaw Boy* is not only a notable contribution to an understanding of modern China but a rich, moving and intensely likable book.

Rickshaw Boy is not a political novel and it assuredly has no political line to sell. It is a straightforward tale of the occasional joys and innumerable sorrows of a young peasant who came to Peking to earn his living. It was his dream to own his own rickshaw and to marry a nice country girl, but there seemed no place for his simple, industrious virtues. Truly a good man and one of indestructible spirit, it is only that spirit and that modest goodness that carry him through a bitter life and in the end make it possible for him to survive. Happy Boy knows nothing of politics or social theory, and when a sympathetic girl-student talks to him he does not understand what she means; but when he sees her being dragged to her death for plotting against the government, he realizes dimly that something is terribly amiss. Any political comment in the novel is implicit and rather oblique, but the impression left is none the less powerful in the suggestion of corruption and oppression and the infinite patience of the Chinese poor.

Although several evil instruments of this oppression are pilloried by the author, he gives a remarkable impression of an objectivity that is by no means indifference. Only in the case of Tiger Girl, the shrewish, poisonous woman who fastens herself to the hero, does he show real hatred for any of his leading characters. In Happy Boy he has created an exceptionally attractive hero, and in the ironically named Little Lucky One, the pretty young prostitute, there is a genuinely touching and pathetic heroine. But in reality it is Peking, a Peking of the Chinese masses, with all its sordidness and its vitality, all its beauty and ugliness, its smells and its colors, that is the central figure of the work, and the picture is unforgettable.

As befits a novel that speaks truly of the East, there are sections of *Rickshaw Boy* that are not pleasant or pretty. It is at times reasonably strong stuff for the Western palate, more eighteenth century than twentieth in its literary taste. Always, however, its stenches and its vulgarities are used, not for the purposes of sensationalism, but for truth. Whether you read Lau Shaw's novel to get a clearer and more comprehensive picture of the Chinese people and the Chinese nation or to find a fictional work of absorbing interest, you will not be disappointed. It is an event in Sino-American understanding.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

[1] Rickshaw Boy, by Lau Shaw. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 315 pages. $2.75.

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Wilson, the Intransigent

Woodrow Wilson and the People, by H. C. F. Bell. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 392 pages. $3.
Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal, by Thomas A. Bailey. New York: The Macmillan Company. 429 pages. $3.50.

We may sometimes wonder what more there is to say about Woodrow Wilson. The swollen state of the Wilson literature, however, has not prevented Professors Bell and Bailey from making distinct and valuable contributions. Professor Bell's book, although it has almost nothing to offer those who are deeply interested in Wilson's pre-Princeton years or the New Freedom at home, deserves high praise as a personal study, particularly for its literary qualities. The author has "tried to write the sort of book about Wilson that I think he would have wanted to have written about him"; and to say that he has succeeded in doing just that will suggest the defects and the substantial merits of his biography.

Whether Professor Bailey has added anything particularly novel to the story of Wilson's fight with the Senate over the treaty, I do not know. But to have told it in such meticulous step-by-step detail and yet kept his narrative at such a pitch of fascination is no mean achievement. Together with its companion volume, *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace*, this work forms a magnificent review of our relationship to the peacemaking from Versailles to the election of 1920.

It has become the fashion to portray Wilson's fight for the League as the crusade of a noble man against unscrupulous and small-minded senatorial enemies. This picture, as far as it goes, is pretty true. But the great merit of Professor Bailey's astute survey is to remind us that Wilson did, after all, lose his own cause through his stubborn ineptitude and insanely disproportionate insistence on formal details. We rightly set a high value on sincerity in our political leaders. But Wilson was drunk with sincerity, and it proved his undoing.

So far as public opinion can be gauged, it appears that the overwhelming majority of the American people in 1919 were in favor of joining the League *with some sort of reservation*. The majority of the Senators clearly felt the same way. It is impossible to read Professor Bailey's account without realizing how easily Wilson could have had American membership in the League with relatively unimportant reservations. There are times when compromise is desirable, and Professor Bailey proves that this was one of them. Wilson failed to see it. When first he heard doubts that a two-thirds vote for the treaty could be mustered, the President snapped, "Anyone who opposes me in that, I'll crush!" To Ambassador Jusserand he asserted coldly, "The Senate must take its medicine." When the Republican Party controlled not merely the one-third plus one necessary to block a treaty but an *outright majority* of the upper house, Wilson was in no position to indulge in such bluster.

Unable to make the Senate take its medicine, Wilson went to the people—and broke his health barnstorming in the quixotic hope of rousing a tidal wave of public opinion. Bailey observes that even if Wilson had driven from the Senate every Republican who was up for reëlection in 1920, he would still have fallen short of a two-thirds vote, would still have had to compromise or accept full defeat. Realistically surveying the Lodge reservations to the League Covenant, Bailey argues forcefully that Wilson sacrificed American membership in the League over a difference that was not at all vital. It takes two sides to make a deadlock. When someone pointed out to Henry Cabot Lodge that Wilson could have us in the League merely by turning about and accepting his reservations, and asked the Senator if in counting on Wilson's hatred for him he was not putting his faith in a "slender thread," Lodge replied, "A slender thread! Why it is as strong as any cable with its strands wired and twisted together." If Lodge—to change the figure—was the hammer, Wilson was the anvil on which the treaty was smashed.

In spite of all this, the current revival of Wilson's reputation is justified in many ways. As a personal type, and even as a statesman, Wilson appears increasingly attractive in deeper historical perpective. But underlying the literature of the Wilson revival is an odd and curiously insubstantial assumption which requires us to forget a great deal of what we know. This assumption—the inarticulate major premise of much recent thinking on the past and the future peace—is the idea that everything would have been all right if only the United States had joined the League. Intrinsically so improbable that no one cares to defend it in so many words, this conception is nevertheless smuggled into the argument, so to speak, at the very beginning in order to give Wilson's defeat the world stature that it might otherwise lack.

When we attempt to decide how much American membership in the League would have changed subsequent history, we are dealing with what President Roosevelt liked to call an "iffy" question. But one does not have to be an isolationist to doubt that our adherence to the Covenant would have transformed the world. A convinced but dispassionate internationalist, Professor Bailey is skeptical. "Would the results have been essentially different if we had joined the League?" he asks. "It seems clear that some kind of 'slump in idealism' would have come sooner or later, and it may legitimately be doubted whether, when the pinch came, the United States would have provided adequate support for the League of Nations."

Those who assume that the present war would have been averted simply if Wilson had beaten Lodge must give some positive answers to many "iffy" questions. Would American membership in the League have contributed anything to avert the worldwide depression that helped to bring Hitler to power? Would it have overcome the open fear of Russia and communism and the covert sympathy for extreme reaction that underlay the appeasement policy of the European democracies? Would it have overcome the reluctance of the peoples to fight a preventive war? Would it have prevented the tidal wave of isolationism that swept over this country in the twenties and early thirties? Would it have made this country willing to take early and active leadership in forming a policy of collective security? Granting limitations imposed by the probable state of American public opinion, what would have been the difference be-

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tween the informal coöperation with the League actually pursued by Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt and the contributions the United States would have made as a formal member?

Most Americans nowadays are well convinced that merely trying to isolate ourselves from the affairs of the world is not the way to peace. The danger to guard against now is an uncritical exaggeration of the value of any international peace machinery. We may yet repeat Wilson's mistake of apotheosizing the formal achievement at the cost of the spirit and force behind the undertaking. The quest for more adequate substantive solutions of the problems of peace and, above all, economic welfare, may actually be abated by a delusive sense of security. The Big Five veto prerogative reminds us that we live as much as ever in a world of the Great Powers and that the duration of the coming peace is dependent on how they get along. Well may we ask, with the late Carl Becker, "How new will the better world be?" RICHARD HOFSTADTER

Revolt in the Desert

The Governing of Men, by Alexander H. Leighton. Princeton: The Princeton University Press. 404 pages. $3.75.

ON NOVEMBER 24, 1942, readers of the San Francisco *Chronicle* must have been mildly startled by an Associated Press dispatch datelined from Parker, Arizona, under the headline: JAP STRIKE: PRO-AXIS GROUP FORCES CAMP REBELLION. The story, referring to events that started five days previously, pointed out that a "defiant group of pro-Axis Japanese evacuees" had overthrown local government, terrorized workers and brought about a "complete shutdown" of operations in the largest of the three units making up the Poston Relocation Center.

Aside from the fact that the shutdown was not "complete" and that there was little or no evidence of genuine "pro-Axis" sentiment among the Poston evacuees, this account was substantially correct. But what actually happened at Poston in mid-November of 1942 was infinitely more complex in origin and far richer in human significance than the brisk daily press dispatches had time even to suggest. Now, some two and a half years later, Lieutenant Commander Alexander H. Leighton has analyzed it for us with a calm, discriminating eye and has derived from it a set of basic principles that should be of great value as a guide to future administrators of displaced people and people under stress.

Commander Leighton, a psychiatrist by profession, was stationed at Poston as a sociological observer and analyst from June, 1942, to September, 1943. During that time he saw the war-born community of evacuated Japanese from the West Coast seethe with steadily mounting, partially concealed frustration and resentment, watched it erupt in a short-lived open defiance of the administration, and then found it being gradually guided into more constructive and coöperative channels. The experience has thus both a positive and a negative value: it provides the administrator of distraught people with an index of actions to pursue and actions to avoid; it shows what types of policies are likely to prove effective in steering the energies of an administered group along desired lines and what policies are likely to engender only antagonism and withdrawal.

Basically, the author's approach is a pragmatic one. He stresses the importance of taking people as they are, of working with and through their established social organizations, and of avoiding drastic or large-scale reformation—regardless of how desirable it may seem—without careful advance preparation. He points out, for example, that the attempt to establish a progressive system of education at Poston—even though admirable in motive—was probably foredoomed to failure simply because the evacuated Japanese had been accustomed in their homes on the Pacific Coast to a more conventional type of schooling for their children. Likewise, he suggests that administrators of liberated territories in the postwar period will probably be faced with difficulties if they attempt the abrupt introduction of modern sanitation methods, let us say, without taking at least some cognizance of local mores governing sickness and health. All of this strikes me as sound and it is certainly borne out by the Poston experience.

But Commander Leighton's most important single contribution in my judgment is the distinction he draws between "people-minded" and "stereotype-minded" administrators. At Poston, he says, the former were those staff members who thought of the evacuees as "people first and Japanese secondarily." The latter were inclined to be obsessed with the necessity for strict observance of all governmental regulations—sometimes at the expense of far more important values—and were frequently motivated by strong, unreasoning antipathies toward all Japanese as a race. Although most of the top staff members at Poston are

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characterized by Leighton as people-minded, it is unfortunately true, as he indicates, that many of the early employees who had the most frequent and widespread day-to-day contact with the evacuees were of the other type. A large part of Poston's stormy early history and its subsequent approach toward harmony and stabilization can be explained in terms of these basic groupings.

In appraising the total effectiveness of the administrative job which was done during his stay at Poston, Commander Leighton makes generous allowance for the tremendous difficulties of supply, communications and personnel recruitment which all civilian agencies must face in wartime. He also touches on—but seems to appreciate less acutely—the rather formidable and particular handicaps under which the WRA had to operate because of the emergency and the unprecedented nature of its program, the emotional atmosphere that surrounded most of its early operations and the almost fantastic amount of public misinformation that has been disseminated both about the evacuees and about WRA aims and policies. It is highly significant, I think, that the WRA has had its most serious administrative difficulties at its three oldest centers—Manzanar, Poston and Tule Lake. All three were populated before the WRA had a chance to establish a really substantial set of operating policies.

The style of the book is somewhat uneven. When Commander Leighton is dealing with the personalities or the events at Poston, his writing takes on a vivid, almost journalistic quality. When he is formulating judgments or drawing generalizations, it frequently becomes a trifle ponderous and academic. On the whole, however, this is a highly readable volume by a conscientious and skilled practitioner in the science of social analysis. I would recommend it not only for those who will be directly concerned with civil administration in occupied territories, but for all who want a better understanding of minority problems and of the ways people act under stress. DILLON S. MYER

Kicking the Corpse

Bones of Contention, by the Right Honorable Lord Vansittart. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 158 pages. $2.75.

VANSITTARTISM is going out of fashion; but Vansittart's book production still grows. Adolf Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf* in one volume; Lord Vansittart publishes his *Kampf* in instalments. But *Black Record, Lessons of My Life,* and now *Bones of Contention,* are only different titles for so many instalments of the same story of an acute Germanophobia. *Mein Kampf* was the Bible of the Germans as a master race; Vansittart's books are the Bible of those who consider the Germans an inferior race. Germany has paid with national suicide and destruction for the control which the Germanomaniacs temporarily got over her. Racial obsessions are a menace to a nation's health: the Germanophobes should study the example of Germany. Fortunately, this kind of foolishness promises to have no permanent influence in Britain. And the Russians have just silenced their Vansittarist war voice, Ilya Ehrenburg.

As to *Bones of Contention* itself, there is nothing new in it. It is a compilation of some of Vansittart's articles and speeches, and illustrates the additional development of his theory during the last two years. It takes as its specific target, not the Nazis or militarists, but the anti-Nazis, including all shades of German opposition. Humble and weak as they were during the Hitler period, they are presented as the real danger; they are crypto-pan-Germanists. You could say that the more anti-Nazi Germans are, the more suspect they become to Vansittart. As for the anti-Nazi emigration, it is in his opinion practically a Nazi fifth column. It seems to him "impertinence," "insolence," "temerity," to defend an anti-Nazi point of view. German exiles seem to him to "dodge," "quibble," "lie," "deceive," "hedge," "shift the blame," "intrigue," "dispute dishonestly," are ready "not to die, but to lie for the Fatherland"—all in one short chapter. Vansittart discovers the wonderful organization of the pan-Germans in Allied countries during the war. With the tribalist's superstition, he endows them with diabolic and magical strength by giving the label of pan-Germanist conspirator to any German who turns up. He devotes a good deal of space to denouncing the pan-Germanism of this reviewer.

Germans in Germany are just as bad. "There is no German party on which we can rely even if it bobs up again." Hitler and Himmler and the survivors of the concentration camps are all alike to him. (There are 50 to 60 "good Germans," in Vansittart's opinion; "one in a million.") Since the Germans are an inferior race, "in the main a nation of killers," "with a mental kink of defilement," "born looters," millions of them "carrying out bestiality with gusto," there can be no shades of difference among them. This is what Cæsar, Tacitus, Seneca and a few dozen less illustrious Roman writers said 2,000 years ago, and it is still true today: "Ancient and modern can only be connected by racialism." Vansittart devotes another whole chapter to proving this continuity, which he says he particularly "enjoyed" writing, "a sure sign that it must be wrong." (Righto.) In his quotations—he is one of the world's most original quoters—he cites Roman and Greek texts as always talking about the "Germans." These "Germans," the Germanic tribes of 2,000 years ago, happen to have been the ancestors not only of the Germans of today, but of all Northwestern Europeans, including the Britons and the North American colonists.

The more rational part of the book deals with the post-war treatment of Germany. Of course an inferior race needs to be controlled by a superior one. Vansittart has been the spokesman for more or less permanent replacement of Hitler's prison by an Allied reformatory. Here is Vansittart's magic theory of democratization: The Germans "have to learn to be humble, to speak lowly, with downcast eyes, in half tones. They can't learn humility without being humiliated and kept humble." This sounds pretty much like the language we heard in Germany. But this is Vansittartism, and it has become the spiritual source of some of the directives on the non-fraternization, non-differentiation policy of the Anglo-American occupation. Here you have the philosophy behind the policy of denying rights or self-government to the defeated which the modern Colonel Blimp has initiated. For instance, in the words of Colonel Keegan (an American) in Munich, "You have got no rights. You are conquered." Sometimes Vansittart sounds "softer" than the Keegans who are on the spot. For instance, in the chapter,

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"Peace Terms for Germany," he pleads for the nationalization of German industry, rather than for its dismantling and removal. But it was no doing of Mr. Morgenthau that the real destruction resulting from the prolonged war was more severe than his plan; nor is it any doing of Vansittart that the moral destruction and imbecility resulting from Hitler's war and the Vansittart reaction to it outdo even his lordship.

PAUL HAGEN

History v. Contemplation

Short Is the Time: Poems 1936-1943, by C. Day Lewis. New York: The Oxford University Press. 98 pages. $2.25.

C. DAY LEWIS, ten years ago, was the most comfortable to read of the three young English poets; associated invariably with Auden and Spender, he was easier to understand than either. Their paths have diverged considerably as time went on; now we can see what we might then have suspected: that Day Lewis would go least far, that he was the most pedestrian of the group.

Short Is the Time, subtitled "Poems 1936-1943," includes in one volume material that in its original publication composed two books: *Overtures to Death*, published in 1938, forms Part I of the present collection; Part II consists of the poems from *Word Over All*, which appeared in 1943. All the "exciting new techniques" of the early thirties are still to be found: the colloquial airs, the cadences of the popular song beneath; the slant rhymes, like fear-fire, willed-world and safe-surf; the vulgar ones, like congeal-sealed and calm-swarm; apostrophe in the vernacular; symbols from the machine world and the psychiatric wards. All this remains, a routine become familiar; all that is gone is the sense of excitement.

Our security disqualifies us from imagining, let alone judging, the distracting effects of seven years' warfare—for Day Lewis knew that this war was beginning in 1936—on poetic sensitivity and ardor. To some of the war's demands he has responded in the conventional manner:

> Stay away, Spring!
> Since death is on the wing
> To blast our seed and poison everything.

and, in the words of "The Volunteer":

> Here in a parched and stranger place
> We fight for England free,
> The good our fathers won for her,
> The land they hoped to see.

At other times, there is an element of protest: "Where Are the War Poets?"

> They who in folly or mere greed
> Enslaved religion, markets, laws,
> Borrow our language now and bid
> Us to speak up in freedom's cause
> It is the logic of our times,
> No subject for immortal verse—
> That we who lived by honest dreams
> Defend the bad against the worse.

There are many poems of war experience in these pages: "Watching Post," "The Stand-to," "Airmen Broadcast," "Lidice," "Will It Be So Again?" whose titles convey their import; there is a long ballad poem, "The Nabara" (reminiscent, for all its difference of manner, of Tennyson's "Revenge"), the history of a naval episode in the Spanish civil war. Most interesting is a poem called "The Escapist," treating of one whom "they reviled because he would not face their music," a poem with considerable insight, poised, very delicately, between compassion and condemnation, either of which would be an impudence, marred a little by some obscurity—syntactical?—in the last stanza.

There are other poems, not about the war, though the war is about them: poems about landscapes, Regency houses, death, love, dreams, destinations, reveries of past childhood. The nearer these draw to quiet and separation, the better they are apt to be, as if in stillness, not in keeping up, not in rushing off in several directions, lay the best talent of this writer as poet. His temptation would be toward versifying, at which he is very clever and good; toward responding, generously, to a rather easy level of demand made of his feeling and thinking; toward, in his more private moments, too much reminiscence, the escape into childhood. The versifying power will do well enough for occasional purposes, the satirical opportunity its best employment; for the rest, in the case of this poet, the hope for poetry (I think) lies in the heart of contemplation. "Nothing is innocent now but to act for life's sake." Day Lewis' art—he says so himself—"never was possessed/By divine incontinence." Probably never will be, either; but from the heart of contemplation much can be gained, without the alternative of silence.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Contributors

MICHAEL YOUNG, British journalist and publicist, formerly on the staff of Political and Economic Planning, is now a member of the Research Division of the British Labor Party.

J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT is United States Senator from Arkansas. A Rhodes scholar, he was president of the University of Arkansas from 1939 to 1941. He is best known for his sponsorship of the "Fulbright Resolution" on United States participation in an international security organizaion.

RICHARD WATTS JR. was formerly editor-in-chief of the Office of War Information in China, where he spent a year. It was his sixth trip to China since 1935. Mr. Watts is now a free-lance writer and plans to go overseas in the fall.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER, assistant professor of History at the University of Maryland, and co-holder of the Alfred A. Knopf History Fellowship for 1945, is working on his second book, *Men and Ideas in American Politics*.

DILLON S. MYER has been in government service since 1914. Until three years ago, he specialized in agriculture, serving first with the extension services of Indiana and Ohio, and later as Assistant Chief of the Soil Conservation Service. Since June, 1942, he has been director of the War Relocation Authority.

PAUL HAGEN, a member of the Council for a Democratic Germany, has spent eleven years in the service of the German underground movement in Germany and abroad. His most recent book is *Germany After Hitler*, published by Farrar and Rinehart.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES' latest collective of verse, *The Summer Landscape*, was published last fall by Scribner's.

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POINTED RHYMES FOR TRYING TIMES

by
Berton Braley

Here is wisdom by the peck
Versified to save your neck!

DON'T BLOW IT

Oh, workman or scholar,
Hang on to your dollar
And do not spend it soon,
For every cent
Unwisely spent
Inflates the price balloon.

IT MAKES SCENTS

To market (black market) to spend lots of jack
Careless of how many ceilings you crack,
To market (black market) where prices are dear,
—Gosh, there's a terrible smell around here.

If you can keep your head and calmly ponder
How silly spending drives the prices high;
If you can save the cash you'd like to squander
And only buy the things you need to buy;
If you can do your part to fight inflation
By simply being thrifty with your pelf,
You'll do a vital service to the nation
And—furthermore—you'll benefit yourself.

Bonds you buy with payroll earnings,
Help fulfill your future yearnings.

NO GAMBLE

When the war is over, will the prices
rise or fall?
We do not know the answer, and
nobody does, at all.
But this much we *can* prophesy—
whichever way they go:
You will find it more convenient if
you've saved a little dough.

★ ★ ★

Money in your pocket,
Take it out and sock it
Into War Bonds, which
Help to make you rich.

DOUBLE AND NO QUITS

When you boost your paycheck quota and allot it
To another bond—it's pretty soft for you!
For, although you've spent your money—you
have got it,
And the Interest is interesting too.

WHO? ME?

There was a little dope with a fat
pay envelope
And she spent every cent that
was in it.
And she wondered, by-and-by,
why the prices rose so high,
But she didn't blame herself for
a minute.

★ ★ ★

INFLATIONARY MARY

Inflationary Mary spills
This silly kind of chatter:
"My little teeny-wee bills
And spendings do not matter.

"And if I cheat a little bit
On rationing and ceilings
The Nation's welfare isn't hit
By my small lawless dealings!"

Inflationary Mary's wrong.
For she'd be much to blame
If people in a mighty throng
Should say and do the same.

Small spendings, in the aggregate,
Reach sums extraordinary,
So let's not try to imitate
Inflationary Mary.

★ ★ ★

ADVERTISERS, PUBLISHERS—NOTE:

You are welcome to use all or any part of the material on this page to aid the fight against inflation.

SNAKE IN THE GAS

There was a crooked man and he
lived in crooked style,
He dealt at crooked markets with a
smugly crooked smile.
He viewed himself as clever with
his crooked ration book,
But everybody knew him for a
crooked little crook.

★ ★ ★

THE GANG'S ALL HERE

You may ask, "Why should *my* spending
Cause inflationary trending
Though I squander every penny I have got?"
—If you're joined by sixty millions
Of civilians blowing billions,
You'll discover that it matters quite a lot!

YOU CAN LAY TO THAT

As the best egg for a nest-egg
Buy a War Bond—buy a batch.
But you gotta keep 'em settin'
Or they ain'ta gonta hatch!

Save your pay
Here's a way—
Bonds and savings and insurance
Give your future more endurance.
Mrs., Mister,
Brother, Sister,
Don't compete in buying things
That is whence inflation springs.

ONE PERSON CAN START IT!

You give inflation a boost

—when you buy anything you can do without
—when you buy above ceiling or without
giving up stamps (Black Market!)
—when you ask more money for your services
or the goods you sell.

SAVE YOUR MONEY. Buy and hold all the War Bonds you can afford—to pay for the war and protect your own future. Keep up your insurance.

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